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AUTHOR Bar-Yam, Miriam; And Others
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ABSTRACT

The relationship between moral development and cultural and educational background is examined. Approximately 120 Israeli youth representing different social classes, sex, religious affiliation, and educational experience were interviewed. The youth interviewed included urban middle and lower class students, Kibbutz-born, Youth Aliyah (disadvantaged urban youth educated in the Kibbutz) and Moslem and Christian Arab students. Findings indicated that: (1) the level of moral reasoning of kibbutz-born youth was higher than that of the other groups studied, (2) middle class and Youth Aliyah showed a higher level of moral reasoning than the lower-class samples, (3) the Christian and Moslem Arab middle class samples showed similar levels of moral reasoning to Turkish middle class, Oriental Jewish lower class, and the American lower working class, (4) Moslem girls showed a lower level of moral reasoning than either Moslem boys or Christian Arab girls, and (5) no significant differences in level of moral reasoning were found between male and female in the kibbutz. The conclusion is that since the kibbutz stresses democratic processes, social participation, mutual responsibility, and active decision making from an early age, the degree to which these elements can be found in a society influences the moral development of its members. (Author/KC)

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Students' Moral Reasoning As Related To Cultural Background & Educational Experience

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Lawrence Kohlberg - Harvard University

Algiris Naame - Tachnion Israel

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Introduction

The objective of this research is to gain understanding of the effects of different cultural and educational experiences on the moral development of children and youth. Cognitive-developmental theory (See Kohlberg 1969) suggests that a society's role-taking opportunities and social participation of its members will affect their level of moral reasoning. An assumption which underlies this cross-cultural research is that if we compare cultures and educational systems which differ in the opportunities for decision making given to their youth, we will find differences in their moral reasoning. Cross-cultural research (Kohlberg 1968, Turiel et al. 1971, Simpson & Graham 1971) has indicated that differences in levels of moral reasoning do exist between youth in different cultures such as Britain, Taiwan, Mexico, Turkey and others. It would be interesting to investigate the factors affecting such differences.

This research has been carried out with several groups in Israel. Israeli society enables us to study cross-cultural differences because it has diverse ethnic, religious, and cultural groups. Also, Israel has some unusual social experiments and forms of education such as the kibbutz, Moshav, and Moshav-Shitufi. Each one of these has a different level of cooperative and collective living.

The kibbutz is a society which is particularly interesting for the study of moral development because of its unique form of communal living and collective education. Kibbutz ideology which is based on principles of democracy and social justice, enables its children to participate in democratic decision making from a relatively early age. A number of studies attempted to compare kibbutz children with non-kibbutz urban children and found some intriguing differences. Rabin (1965) found Kibbutz preadolescents to be higher in ego strengths. Shapira, who studied cooperative versus competitive behavior (Shapira & Madsen 1975), found higher cooperation among kibbutz children. Jay & Birney (1973) found that kibbutz adolescents showed less need for approval than non-kibbutz presdolescents.

Bronfenbrenner & Devereux (1979) found that kibbutz preadolescents displayed more "autonomous" behavior. Bettleheim (1969) and Spiro (1965) dealt with the question of moral development from the psychoanalytic perspective and concluded that kibbutz youth, while well adjusted to the social realities of the Kibbutz, are morally conforming to their peer groups, displaying little autonomy of thinking or independence of action. Since cognitive-developmental theory differs from psychoanalytic theory in basic assumptions about moral development, we sought to study kibbutz youth from the cognitive-developmental perspective.

Another group of Israeli youth of great interest is Youth Aliyah who are educated in the kibbutz. Youth Aliyah is an Israeli educational enterprise which began in the 1930's with the aim of rescuing Jewish youth from Nazi Europe and bringing them to Israel, where they were raised and educated. In the 1950's and 1960's the operation turned to the Middle Eastern countries from which the youth were rescued and brought to Israel. More recently, Youth Aliyah has dealt more with adolescents from Israeli cities who come mostly from disadvantaged or broken homes. The youth are placed for their education in youth villages, vocational schools, and kibbutzim. The study of Youth Aliyah adolescents educated in kibbutz is of interest to us because we wish to see whether those who come from disadvantaged backgrounds can be stimulated in their moral development by the kibbutz.

In addition to the two groups kibbutz-born and Youth Aliayh on the kibbutz, we were interested in studying city adolescents in Israel, both for comparison with the kibbutz groups and also as compared cross-culturally to other societies. Hence, for the purpose of intra-cultural and inter-cultural comparisons we were interested in studying four groups of adolescents: urban middle-class (mostly of European origin), urban lower-class (mostly of Oriental origin), Kibbutz born, and Youth Aliyah.

Additional research which could throw further light on cross-cultural comparisons was the study of Arab Christian and Moslem youth in Israel. Christian

and Moslem Arabs who live in the same town in Israel are similar in many economic and cultural aspects and their children attend the same schools. Yet, due to the religious differences, these groups differ in the status of women in society (bar-Yam M. & Naame A. 1974). Moslem women are expressly not equal to men in social participation and role taking opportunities. Christian women enjoy greater equality than Moslem women; in Christian culture there is no polygamy and in general the status of women is similar to that in most Western societies. Still, in no other society is there as much attempt to have equality for the sexes as in the kibbutz. The kibbutz ideologically stresses complete equality for women and attempts to implement this ideological conviction in the education of girls and boys together (See Tiger and Shepher 1975, Talmon-Garber, Y. 1965) as equals.

Sex differences in levels of moral reasoning in the different groups could indicate whether there was a relationship between females' moral development and their social status, role-taking opportunities and educational expectations. It is interesting to investigate whether the differences in women's status and in educational experiences of boys and girls would be reflected in the level of moral reasoning of male and female youth in the different societies. Also, such research can have important educational implications as well.

An important aspect of the investigation of cultural and educational effects on moral development is the study of the effect of school atmosphere on moral development. School atmosphere is influenced by the learning environment and hidden curriculum in the classroom (See Walberg, 1968, Jackson, 1968, Kohlberg, 1970); the nature of teacher-students interaction; the extent to which students, as well as teachers, have a voice in the curriculum; and the general way in which school life is run. On the basis of cognitive-developmental theory we would expect students' moral development to be stimulated by a school atmosphere which enables them to be active and responsible participants in the school and the educational

process.

Teachers' level of moral reasoning can be a factor in the moral development of the students (Turiel, 1969, Blatt & Kohlberg, 1975) therefore it would be interesting to interview teachers and educators in different societies.

In this study there was just a beginning of exploratory study of schools' atmosphere and teachers' moral level. Informal interviews were conducted with educators in the kibbutz and teachers in the high schools from which the samples were drawn.

Method

The samples

In the first study there were four groups of forty-one (41) Israeli adolescent males age fifteen (15) to seventeen (17). The groups were: city middle class, city lower class (usually Oriental i.e. of Middle-Eastern origin), kibbutz born, and Youth Aliyah (city youth who had been educated on the kibbutz). The characteristics of this sample are presented in Table 1.

Insert Table 1 here

The youth Aliyah subjects have lived for several years on a kibbutz but they came originally from the city. 64% were from lower-class needy families who could not provide an education for their children. 36% were boys either from middle-class broken homes or had a history of school adjustment problems.

The kibbutz-born subjects were from several kibbutzim of the three major Kibbutz Federations: Hakibbutz Haartzi, Hakibbutz Hamuhad, and Ihud Hakvutzot Vehakibbutzim. (The religious federation Hakibbutz Hadati was not included here, but will be included in a study of moral development comparing religious and non-religious youth in the kibbutz and in the city.)

The middle class subjects were from a summer camp which had students mostly from Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv. The lower class subjects were from vocational schools in the Jerusalem and the Tel-Aviv area.

The second sample consisted of sixty-two (62) Arab high school students and ten (10) kibbutz-born female adolescents. In the Arab sample there were four groups: - 16 Moslem males, 21 Moslem females, 26 Christian males and 14 Christian females. The exploratory informal interviews were conducted with four kibbutz educators, two high school teachers from the Arab town that participated in the study. One high school principal and two teachers in the city.

Data Collection and Analysis

Each subject was interviewed individually either in Hebrew or in Arabic, six of Kohlberg's moral dilemmas (I, III, IV, VII, VIII) were used. The scoring was done by both the global story and issue rating methods(Kohlberg 1971.) The interviews were scored by two scorers and checked for reliability by a third scorer. There was about 80% agreement on major stage and by an individual's Moral Maturity Score (MMS). The MMS is the sum of the percent usage of each stage weighted or mutiplied by the ordinal value of that stage from one to six. These scores then may range from one hundred (100% stage 1) to six hundred (100% stage 6). Since the story and issues scores were closely related, only the issues scores are presented.

Results

The Moral Maturity Scores (MMS) and percentage of stage usage for the four groups in the first study are presented in Table 2 along with comparative groups from other countries.

Insert Table 2 here

The level of moral maturity of the Israeli city adolescents are quite similar

though somewhat higher than that of American adolescents. The Israeli middle-class group had a mean Moral Maturity Score of 374, the score of the American group, 347. The Israeli lower-class group had a mean Moral Maturity Score of 289, midway between the scores of the American sample of working-class subjects (308) and the sample of disadvantaged subjects (246).

It seems that the American and Israeli national cultures diverge in that the Israeli culture produces greater moral homogeneity than the American national culture, at least for the middle-class. American middle-class groups had more pre-conventional thinking than the Israeli middle-class, showing 13% pre-conventional as compared to 1% among the Israeli (and showing similar percentages of principled thinking, 5% as compared with 7% of the Israelis). The United States and the Israeli city adolescents, both middle and working-class, are somewhat ahead of city middle-class and working-class adolescents in Great Britain and Turkey (Gilligan, et al. 1971 and Kohlberg, Edwards, & Turiel 1971).

The Israeli Kibbutz-born boys are at a higher level of moral maturity (MMS 415) than the city middle-class boys (MMS 374). They are also higher than the Youth Aliyah boys placed on the kibbutz (MMS 376). Analysis of variance indicates that the difference between the kibbutz-born group and the other two groups is significant ($p < .05$). This tendency was due to the greater usage of principled Stage 5 thinking among the kibbutz-born.

The difference in moral maturity between the Oriental lower-class boys in the city and those in Youth Aliyah placement is large, about 87 points or the equivalent of almost one stage. This difference is significant ($p < .05$). Whereas 37% of the reasoning of the city Oriental boys is at the two pre-conventional stages, only 2% of the Youth Aliyah reasoning was at the two pre-conventional stages.

The Moral Maturity Scores for the groups in the second study are presented in Table 3.

Insert Table 3 here

A comparison of the Moral Maturity Scores for males and females in the various groups is presented in Table 4.

Insert Table 4 here

The levels of the Arab high school students are similar for the boys, MMS 290 for the Christian boys and MMS 296 for the Moslem boys. The Christian girls are also on a similar level (MMS 289), but the average Moral Maturity Score for the Moslem girls is only 249. This difference of about 40 points was statistically significant ($p < .01$). It represents about half a stage difference in moral reasoning. Another difference which was smaller, about a third of a stage (27 points on the MMS scale) was found between males and females in the Youth Aliyah sample of Middle-Eastern Origin (i.e. children of families who immigrated to Israel from Middle Eastern countries or North African countries) (Reimer 1972). There were no significant sex differences among kibbutz-born youth. (City middle-class and lower-class samples of girls have not been studied yet.)

Discussion

The cross-national comparisons should be viewed with great caution, in light of the small samples which are not strictly comparable socio-economically and educationally, and in light of the fact that various cultural contexts produce varying methodological problems. Therefore, only some of the clearer results will be discussed here.

Making a comparison among the Israeli groups we see that the kibbutz-born group is significantly more advanced than the other groups, including the city middle-class. This result is of particular theoretical interest. Not only is the MMS of the kibbutz group significantly higher, but they also display far

more principled thought than their counterparts in the city. This finding stands in conflict with what would be expected from psychoanalytic theories as expressed in studies of the kibbutz such as Spiro's (1958) and Bettleheim's (1969). However, from the cognitive-developmental viewpoint this finding is not surprising (See Bar-Yam, Kohlberg & Reimer 1971); it is quite likely that the higher level of moral reasoning of kibbutz youth is related to their participation in the decision-making process of their youth society. They have more role-taking opportunities than city adolescents, both in terms of daily responsibilities at work and social activities and in terms of important decisions through the democratic process.

A comparison of the Youth Ailyah and the city lower-class groups shows that although mostly from lower-class origins, the Youth Aliyah, after two years in kibbutz are far mor similar to the middle-class than to the lower-class sample. Even though caution is necessary, the Youth Aliyah's highly significant 87 point MMS difference (almost a full stage) from the lower-class sample and their beginning usage (20%) of principled thinking seems to speak powerfully for the stimulating influence of the kibbutz on their moral development. This is compatible with the notion of the kibbutz as an environment which is morally more stimulating than the city.

In comparing the Youth Aliyah and the city lower-class group we must keep in mind the selection process involved in the Youth Aliyah: 1) there may be a self-selecting process affecting those who choose to go to kibbutz rather than stay in the city, and 2) there is a process of selection on the part of the kibbutz. While different kibbutz programs have different selection policies for whome to take in, all of them want children who can adjust to group life in the kibbutz. The kibbutz tends to drop from the Youth Aliyah program those who cannot satisfactorily live by the norms of kibbutz life. It is possible that adolescents who do not move to the conventional level of morality do not stay in the kibbutz.

However, as an illustration of the reasons why we do believe that the kibbutz has a genuine impact on Youth Aliyah adolescents, we may compare the responses of two twin brothers to the stealing in the drug story (III). One brother, Yosi, had been on the kibbutz three years, the other, Jonah, had stayed at home in the city. Jonah, who remained at home, answered the drug stealing dilemma as follows:

> "In one way, if everyone were breaking in when we need something, where would we get to. But he wants to save her and his feelings would make him do it. He should do it for his wife, after all, he wants to save her. Maybe he won't get caught and everything will go all right. This little radium wouldn't make such a big difference for the druggist and it would save his wife's life."

This response was scored Stage 3(2).

Yosi responded to the dilemma as follows:

> "If there is no other solution, he has the right to steal the drug. It's his wife and he loves her and she is a human being. You cannot compare anything, the most expensive medicine in the world, to a human life. Even the law, respect for the law isn't as strong as respect for life, in a way the laws were made to protect life."

This response was scored Stage 5(4).

While at the time of kibbutz entrance Yosi may have been more morally advanced than Jonah and hence more able to adapt to the kibbutz, it is unlikely that the two-stage gap between Yosi and his twin brother existed prior to kibbutz placement.

It seems that the kibbutz does provide a stimulating environment for moral development, both because of its educational system and the example presented to the youth by the adult society.

The differences between the Israeli samples and samples in other cultures will await further interpretation till the study of larger and, hopefully, more representative samples will be completed. One question which is particularly intriguing is related to the finding that the Israeli middle-class sample showed

high usage of Stage 4 thinking (i.e. rules and society maintaining orientation) and almost no pre-concentional thinking while the American sample had a wider spread of stage usage. It may be that the concern with national security and need for unity have their effect on the moral thinking of Israeli Youth. Also, most of this Youth participate in group activities at their high school, in the premilitary training, or the Youth Movement, and such experiences are likely to affect their moral development. This may be also reflected in the finding that the Israeli lower-class sample is higher than the disadvantaged American sample. Although the Israeli sample was economically and culturally often as disadvantaged as the American sample, the subjects did not feel as discriminated against and had a greater sense of national participation and responsibility.

Comparing the four Arab groups first with groups in other cultures, it is not surprising that the level of moral reasoning of the Arab middle-class is similar to that of the Turkish middle-class (MMS 280-290). There are many similarities in the two cultures and their educational systems. However, of greater interest is the comparison of the four groups to one another. The samples of Christain boys and girls and Moslem boys showed similar levels of moral reasoning (MMS 289-296), but the sample of Moslem girls was lower (MMS 249) by about 50 MMS points (very significant, $p < .01$), i.e. the equivalent of half a stage. This difference was similar to the difference between the two American lower-class samples: the working-class sample with average MMS of 308 and the disadvantaged sample with average MMS of 246.

Cognitive developmental theory views class differences in moral development as related to the extent of participation in decision making institutions and the degree of role-taking opportunities available in the society. Hence, the low level of moral reasoning of the American disadvantaged sample is not surprising. Similarly, not surprising is the low level of moral reasoning of Moslem women who have low status and do not have opportunities to participate in deci-

sion making processes of their society. There was one other Israeli group studied by Reimer (1972), in which there were sex differences in moral reasoning similar to the Moslem samples. This was a group of Youth Aliyah Children of Middle-Eastern origin (i.e. children of families who immigrated to Israel from Middle Eastern of North African countries). Since the way of life and women's position in these ethnic groups is similar to that in the countries of their origin, it is not unexpected to find similar sex differences in moral reasoning. Such sex differences seem to disappear after the Youth Aliyah groups have lived in the kibbutz for a while (Bar-Yam, Kohlberg, & Reimer 1973).

The emphasis on complete equality for men and women in the kibbutz has resulted in a strongly egalitarian education for boys and girls (See Talmon-Garber 1965 and Tiger & Shepher 1975). It is not surprising, therefore, that no differences in moral reasoning was found between kibbutz-born boys and girls. It is also understandable that the kibbutz-born girls showed a higher level of moral reasoning than the girls in the other groups.

The interviews with the educators and teachers of the various groups under study were informal exploratory interviews and further study is planned with adult leaders, educators, and teachers in various communities in Israel. Hence, only preliminary findings and some descriptive data could be discussed here. Some of these interviews revealed several salient points which could help in further interpretation of the data.

Kibbutz educators stressed an educational approach which encourages children to become actively involved in the democratic processes. They viewed active social participation, genuine decision making, group solidarity and mutual responsibility as central to the philosophy of collective education. For example: "The ideal for our society is not only an independent enlightened individual who knows the way he should go and acts accordingly, but an independent collective youth group is also the best assurance to the attainment of our educational

goals. Through independence the youth will experience social responsibility, issues of individual rights and duties." ...."Our methods of education depend upon the group....The system is no examinations, no punishment....we don't punish." ..."Independence places obligations on the youth, because it regards him as an equal partner in his own upbringing."

This approach is congruent with the kibbutz ideology of democratic living and egalitarianism; communal ownership and cooperative enterprise; sharing of services and responsibilities; self and mutual responsibility; and loyalty to the group. The kibbutz adult society serves as a model for its youth and other youth, such as the Youth Aliyah, who are incorporated into its life. As one of the educators stated: "The democratic structure of the group here, of course stems from the democratic structure of the kibbutz. It is a fact that our group meetings are not fictitious but are opportunities in which they (the youth) decide many things." Kibbutz educators seemed to reason on a principled level or at a high conventional level. This still needs further study and a more thorough probing.

Teachers of the Arab students who participated in the study described their school as very traditional and rigid. They also expressed many complaints. The teachers were given little autonomy in their classes; all decisions about school activities were made by the principal and the superintendent. The teachers had "no say in the curriculum and little opportunity to interact with the students in informal manner." The students were "expected to obey and follow instructions." If teachers wanted to have informal activities or some diversion from the set school routine, they met with great difficulties. Extra-curricular activities were few and did not involve all students; few girls participated in such activities. One of them stated: "Obviously, there are clear differences in educational expectations and social participation between boys and girls." Both teachers pointed out that although the Moslem girls were similar to the boys in

ability level as could be seen from their school assignments, "They express themselves less freely than the boys, and seldom participate in class discussions." They felt that most of these girls showed "little interest or concern about social issues."

Interestingly, one of the teachers said: "Things are changing though; you should keep in mind that high school education for Moslem girls is relatively new. It began after the Israeli State was established. The new generation is getting more and more modern." This teacher equated social and moral development with "modernization" and "Westernization". It would be interesting to study again the Youth of this town some years from now and see whether the greater "modernization" described by this teacher find its expression in changes of attitudes toward women, greater democratization, and more egalitarian educational practices; and whether these in turn affect the moral development of the Youth.

Teachers from the high school in the city felt that although their school was generally "traditional", there were attempts to encourage students to take initiative in some school activities and some choice was given to students regarding their course of study. For example: "The students have to learn a lot and we don't have time for fooling aroung,' but, "We also let them organize activities and carry out some special projects." An important factor in the development of the youth's social awareness and concern about social and national issues is the Youth Movement. Boys and girls participate in bi-weekly activities, many of which are devoted to discussions of social and political ideas and various local, national and world problems. One of the teachers pointed out that "much of the social, moral, and ideological development of the youth is affected by the Youth Movement." Also: "In addition to the Youth Movement, there are Gadna (pre-military training) activities whcih influence the Youth." It should be mentioned that city youth may meet kibbutz youth in the Youth Movement and Gadna activities. All the above need to be studied to learn more of the various factors affecting the moral development of this youth.

Although this research should be carried further before definitive conclusions can be drawn, it seems that the results of the study are consistant with cognitive developmental theory of moral development. The interpretation of the results implies that in order to stimulate moral development it is important to enable and encourage children's early involvement in decision making processes, assumption of responsibilities and social participation with equitable role taking opportunites. Furthermore, it is possible to affect the children's moral development even during adolescence (as was the case with the Youth Aliyah group), by enabling them to experience educational environments that encourage openness, active involvement in the educational process, equality of rights and responsibilities, and participation in group decision making.

Summary

The main thrust of this research was the study of intra-Israeli cross-cultural differences in moral development. The subjects studied were about 120 adolescents representing different social class, sex, religious affiliation, and educational experience. The samples were: Urban Middle-Class and Lower-Class students; Kibbutz-Born and Youth Aliyah (Disadvantaged urban youth educated in the kibbutz); Moslem and Christian Arab Students. Sex differences were studied separately to see whether there was a relationshop between females' level of moral reasoning and their social status, educational expectations, and role taking opportunities, which were clearly different in some of the cultural groups from which the samples were drawn.

The results indicate that: 1) The level of moral reasoning of kibbutz-born youth was higher than that of the other groups studied. 2) Middle-class and Youth Aliyah samples showed a higher level of moral reasoning than lower-class samples. Youth Aliyah students, educated in the kibbutz, whose origin was urban lower-class had a level of moral reasoning almost a full stage higher than the comparable lower-class students. 3) The Christian and Moslem Arab middle-class samples showed similar levels of moral reasoning to the Turkish middle-class,

the Oriental Jewish lower-class, and the American lower working-class. 4) Moslem girls showed a lower level of moral reasoning than either the Moslem boys or the Christian Arab girls under study. 5) No significant differences in level of moral reasoning were found between males and females in the kibbutz sample.

Interviews with educators of the various groups under study revealed several salient points which could help in the interpretation of the results. Some of these are: 1) Kibbutz educators stressed the educational approach which encourages democratic processes, social participation, mutual responsibility, and active decision making by kibbutz children from an early age. 2) These educators encouraged Youth Aliyah educated in the kibbutz to become active participants in decision making processes and in assuming responsibilities in their group, which probably had a stimulating effect on the development of their moral reasoning. 4) Teachers stressed sexual equality in the education of children and youth in Israel. Particularly egalitarian is the kibbutz collective education. 5) Teachers of the Arab students pointed out that although the Moslems and Christian Arab samples were of similar socio-economic background and similar ability level, the cultural-religious differences had an effect on their school behavior; Moslem girls did not participate in extra-curricular activities and were far less free to express themselves than the boys.

Hence, it seems that differences in levels of moral reasoning could be related to differences in cultural background and educational experiences. The greater the degree of social justice, equal rights, and democratic participation in a society, the more stimulating can it be for the moral development of its members.

Table I

Samples Studied

	City		Kibbutz	
	Middle-Class	Lower-Class	Kibbutz-Born	Kibbutz-Placed Y.A.
Number	11	9	9	12
Age	15-17	15-17	15-17	15-17
Ethnicity	100% European	100% Oriental	European	81% Oriental
F. Occ.	Business, Professional, Officer	80% Unskilled 20% Skilled Labor	Kibbutz	60% Unskilled 40% Skilled, Clerical
Schooling	80% Academic, 20% Vocational	Vocational School	Kibbutz	Kibbutz

TABLE 2

Moral Maturity Scores and Percentage Usage of Each Moral Stage by Various Groups*

Stages	1	2	3	4	5	5B	6	MMS
Israeli Groups								
Sample 1 - Older								
Middle-Class	-	01	27	65	05	2	-	374
Lower-Class	16	21	28	35	00	-	-	289
Youth Aliyah	-	02	33	45	15	05	-	376
Kibbutz-Born	-	-	14	47	28	11	-	415
Non-Israeli Comparison Groups**								
U.S. Middle	00	13	32	50	05	-	-	347
U.S. Working	08	20	29	42	01	-	-	308
U.S. Disadv.	12	24	35	28	01	-	-	246
G.B. Middle	05	23	43	21	08	-	02	313
G.B. Working	27	44	22	06	00	-	00	209
Turkey Middle	10	15	51	24	00	-	00	289
Turkey Lower	12	32	48	08	00	-	00	252

* The scores in this table are being rescored because of some changes and refinements in the scoring system (See Kohlberg 1976 for the discussion of the refinements in the scoring system).

** U.S. Middle-Class data are from Gilligan, Kohlberg, Lerner and Belenky (1971). Lower-Class and Disadvantaged Black data are from Blatt & Kohlberg (1974). British data are from Simpson and Graham, Turkish data are from Turiel, Kohlberg and Edwards (1979).

Table 3

Average Moral Maturity Scores for Four Arab Groups

Group	N	Percentage Usage of Stages								
		1	2	3	4	5	5B	6	MMS	SD
M-C	21	21	35	21	23	-	-	-	290	27
M-M	14	18	32	29	19	02	-	-	296	21
F-C	16	22	27	31	20	-	-	-	289	16
F-M	11	19	35	40	06	-	-	-	249	11
MMS and Percentage Usage of Stages for Kibbutz-Born Girls										
KBF	10	-	-	23	42	26	9	-	410	19

Key

Number in Group Tested - N Male Christians - M-C Female Christians - F-C

Standard Deviation - SD Male Moslems - M-M Female Moslems - F-M

Table 4

Comparison of MMS of Males and Females in Various Groups

Groups	Average MMS		Differences in MMS points
	Males	Females	
Kibbutz-Born	415	410	5
Christian Arab	290	289	1
Moslem Arab	296	249	47**

* Significant at the .05 level

** Significant at the .01 level

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